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does not ask her directly for her consent, but *ouq*'s or "seeks her" in the following manner. If he is not ashamed and if his intentions are serious, he comes at night into the hut of her parents while the fire is still burning, and carefully notes the place where she goes to sleep. When the family all lie down to sleep, and the fire is dead, he then goes to lie by the side of the girl. She, "if not in too much of a hurry to have him," gets up and goes to lie in another part of the hut. The boy, however, remains sleeping on her skin bed until daybreak, when without speaking a word he gets up and goes away. The following night he appears again. If he finds that the girl's bed is still in the same spot, he can regard this as a sign that his courtship is favoured by her. Even if she continues to get up and lie elsewhere for several nights in succession when he lies down next to her, this is merely to test his steadfastness; he must only persevere, and all will go well. When at last she remains with him, he does not get up till broad daylight, and he leaves lying behind him a waistband of ostrich egg-shell beads for his mother-in-law, as a gift for the use of the bed. Then, still without speaking a word, he exchanges karosses with the girl, who also gives him *buchu* with which to powder his head and rub his arm-pits. Then he goes away.

The official marriage feast is celebrated the same day. The bridegroom must provide a sheep or a cow, which is slaughtered for the bride. The four legs of the animal are bound together, and in this position it lies for an hour or more. Meanwhile all the married women of the camp come together, and the bride is placed in their midst. She is lectured by them on her duties as a married woman, and they also, as Wikar quaintly puts it, "praise men who seek wives, since to-day they have enough to eat." The animal is then slaughtered by a magician ("tovenaar"), who must be a male. A special portion of the meat is given to him, but he is the only male person who may eat of the animal. Not even the bridegroom may partake of it, nor any children or unmarried girls. The bladder of the slaughtered animal is then blown up and tied to the head of the girl; the fat is strewn with *buchu* by the women, and this she must wear round her neck; while the sinews are threaded through ostrich egg-shell beads, which she must wear round her legs.

In the meantime, the bridegroom, desirous of winning that day his laurels as a hunter, is off early into the veld with his spear, bow and arrows. His quarry provides material for a general feast, which is followed by dancing and festivity. To the mother of his bride

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For the actual marriage ceremony, according to Graevenbroeck, 585
a couple of sheep or even a cow are slaughtered. While the meat is being cooked, the bride is handed over to an old woman, who instructs her in the duties of married life, teaches her how to keep her husband and to love him, " and in what the secrets of wedlock consist." Then the old woman smears the gall of the slaughtered animal over the feet of the bride, and ties its bladder to the roof of the hut in which all this is taking place. The magician who has slaughtered the animal then comes up to the young couple, who are naked or at most dressed in a loin-cloth, smears their bodies from head to foot with fat, and powders them both with *buchu*. He next ties round their necks the twisted pericardium of the animal, and finally admonishes them to live in mutual faith and love, wishes them a numerous offspring, and so forth. All then feast on the remains of the animal, the men and the women eating apart. The bride, however, must remain fasting until the following morning. The feast is followed by dancing, which is kept up till late, and then the young couple are left alone in the hut and the marriage is consummated. If the marriage is celebrated more handsomely, the bridegroom on the next day brings the bride to his own home, accompanied by relatives of both and friends. Here she is welcomed with a new drinking bout and a feast, and the young couple are again admonished and given good wishes. Everybody then returns to his normal occupation.

Kolb's description differs somewhat from the above. When the arrangements for the marriage have been concluded, he says, the bridegroom, accompanied by his father, drives one, two, or three fat oxen, according to his means, to the hut or camp of the bride, where her parents and friends are assembled together. The oxen are here slaughtered, the people smear themselves with the fat of the animals and powder themselves with *buchu*, while the women in addition paint their faces with red powder. The men and the women then seat themselves in two rings, each sex by itself; the bride squats in the centre of the women's ring, the bridegroom in the centre of the men's ring. The *suri* or magician of the camp now goes to the men's ring, and as soon as he reaches the bridegroom says a few words to him, then urinates over him from head to foot; this he also does to the bride, as soon as he enters the ring of women. This performance he repeats twice again. The words accompanying it wish the young couple good fortune in their married life, and express the hope that they will be blessed in the coming year with

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fat, and powder themselves with *buchu*. When the husband then enters the hut, he must first smoke a pipe of dagga, and not till the effects of this have worn off may he speak to his wife and again sleep in his hut.

Graevenbroeck adds the information that the woman, after the birth, must remain in her hut for at least eight days. When this period of seclusion is over, she is ceremonially washed from tip to toe in warm water, if it is winter, or in cold water if it is summer. Only then is she allowed to leave the hut. During this washing men may not be present. A feast is then held, in which blood relatives and friends participate. The birth of the first child, according to Kolb, is celebrated far more lavishly than are subsequent births, especially if it is a boy, when all the inhabitants of the kraal join in the feast.

The descriptions given above are almost certainly inadequate. But they contain sufficient detail to show that the ritual accompanying birth has at least some of the elements found in the other Hottentot "transition rites". The seclusion of the mother, her avoidance of cold water, and the observances relating to the fire during the period of seclusion, the fact that her husband becomes unclean if he enters the hut, and finally her ceremonial reintroduction to the use of water, as well as the first introduction of the baby to the source of water—all these, as we have seen, are essential details in all ceremonies associated with the conception of */nau*. From Mrs. Hoernlé's general analysis of these ceremonies we should expect to find also a sacramental meal in which only the new mother and other women who have borne children take part; but, although mention is made of a feast to celebrate the birth, in none of the descriptions available of the birth ceremonies is there any record of this special meal. Wikar, however, explicitly mentions it in his general account of the occasions on which women alone may take part in the *andersmaken* feasts.[1] He gives no description of the birth customs; and Mrs. Hoernlé's own data on the birth ceremonial have unfortunately also not yet been published.

Abnormal Births

Children born with a caul are credited with prophetic powers. Such a child, according to one of Mrs. Hoernlé's informants, might become a clever */gei aob* (magician) if given the caul to eat as a child;

[1] Op. cit., 94.

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others, however, said that the child became a *gebo aob* (seer).[1] Misshapen or deformed children, on the other hand, especially girls, were, according to some writers on the Cape Hottentots, buried alive in the hole of some animal or exposed, lest they should bring ill luck on the community; while the death of the mother in childbed usually also meant the burial with her of her living baby, unless some other woman could be found to suckle it.[2]

Twin births among the Naman are to-day regarded as unlucky, but the children are not killed, nor are there any special ceremonies connected with them. Often the mother cannot rear them both, when one of the mothers-in-law or a sister helps her.[3] There is evidence enough in the literature relating to the Cape Hottentots, however, to show the former existence in this division of special usages connected with twins. Graevenbroeck remarks simply that if a woman bears twins, one of them, especially if a girl, is either exposed as a prey to wild animals, or on a bush, or even buried alive, the reason for this custom being the inability of the mother to rear them both.[4] Kolb, on the other hand, gives a detailed description of the manner in which twin births were greeted.[5] If the children are boys, he says, the parents observe an *andersmachen* or feast by killing two fat oxen for the entertainment of the whole kraal, who all rejoice at the birth as a great blessing. But if they are girls there is little or no rejoicing, and only a couple of sheep at the most are slaughtered. Often enough, in such a case, the parents will refuse to rear both children, and pleading either poverty or the scarcity of the mother's milk, will do away with the worse featured of the two by burying her alive or exposing her on the bough of a tree or among the bushes. Similarly, if the twins are of opposite sexes, the girl will be exposed or buried alive, while great rejoicings are made for the boy.

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In this connection it may be recalled that the motive assigned by Kolb to the custom of excising one testicle is the fear of the women that if they were to have intercourse with a man who had not had this operation performed upon him they would bear twins. There is nothing in Kolb's account, however, to show that the father of twins has to undergo any special treatment at the birth, as one might expect

[1] "Social Value of Water," 320; cf. Schultze, *Namaland und Kalahari*, 220.
[2] Graevenbroeck, op. cit., 365; Fritsch, *Eingeborenen Süd-Afrika's*, 334; Sparrman, *Voyage to the Cape*, i, 319.
[3] Schultze, op. cit., 223; private information from Mrs. Hoernlé.
[4] Op. cit., 365.
[5] Op. cit., 66–8; cf. Fritsch, loc. cit.; Ten Rhyne, "Account of the Cape of Good Hope," 842; Thunberg, *Travels in Europe, Asia, and Africa*, ii, 195.

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775 Kling. Olpp unfortunately does not state who the "certain people" are, who are befriended in this way. The Naman, however, [791] believe that the */gai aogu*, magicians, are somehow in contact with the */kei /nun*, although we are nowhere told how this contact is established. If, therefore, the belief that the */kei /nun* may take the form of the */has jackals* is accurately reported by Biden and Kling, one would suppose that the people referred to by Olpp must be the magicians. But this is only conjecture.

Some light is thrown upon this medley of beliefs, as well as upon the other manifestations of the ghosts, by certain facts which Schultze records about *//Gaunab*.[1] To him *//Gaunab* is merely a mythical being ("Fabelwesen"), and he does not connect the name either with the personage figuring so prominently in the religious beliefs of the Naman, or with the ghosts of the dead. *//Gaunab*, he says, has the faculty of assuming human and animal form at will. The Naman conceive of him as having human shape, with ribs drawn over the flesh, and with feet the length of arms. "As quickly as a flame shoots up out of the glowing embers and then sinks down," said one of his informants, so quickly does *//Gaunab* come at night into a hut and steal a child. He hastens with his captive to a hole which he has dug in the loose soil, and rides on the child until it is stifled in the dust. By day he can also take on the form of a klipbok, jackal, or any other animal, which does not flee from men, since it is invulnerable; but in human shape he appears only in the distance, as in spite of all disguise he can be recognized by his facial features.

It is evident, from what has already been said, that these facts must be interpreted as referring to the ghosts. The word *//gaunab* itself is used for a ghost; the human shape which this "mythical being" is said to possess may be compared with the form in which ghosts appear to people in dreams; the abduction and stifling of a child in a hole is equivalent to saying that the ghosts drag their victims off to the grave; and the invulnerability of *//Gaunab* in animal form is paralleled by the beliefs relating to the */has jackals*. The latter, if this identification is accepted, must therefore be regarded not as a form in which all ghosts become reincarnated, but rather as one of the forms they may assume at will. There is no ground for supposing that the Hottentots have a definite doctrine of reincarnation or transmigration of the soul such as is implied in the account given by Biden and Kling.

[1] Op. cit., 432–2.

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776 says that the Nama believe that "war and all evil come from the devil, *kaunaap* (*//Gaunab*); he is black, say the magicians, who assert that they sometimes see him. Because he is evil, sacrifices and offerings must be made to him".[1]

It will be noticed that according to both Kolb and Wikar *//Gaunab* is the source of all evil; he is appeased by sacrificial offerings, and he stands in close contact with the magicians. These statements are supported by later writers. Hahn says that the Topnaars of Walvis Bay, one of the Nama tribes, offer prayers to *//Gaunab*, so as not to provoke his anger, although they call him an evildoer, who [753] even kills them when they are out hunting.[2] All sicknesses are expected to come from *//Gaunab*, or from his servants, the witch-craft practitioners.[3] One informant said that the Rainbow was made 776 by *//Gaunab*: it is a fire which he has kindled. *//Gaunab* deceives 821 the people, and leads them into that fire, and there they die. Such people are spoken of as *//Gauna- //o-khoin*, *//Gauna*-dying people. The eclipse of the moon, comets, and the Aurora australis, all evil omens, are also connected with *//Gaunab*, who through them threatens war and death.[4] Among the Korana mothers used to tell their children to beware of *//Gaunab*, as he is a great evildoer, who can kill them.[5]

//Gaunab is also another name, as we have seen, for *Sarts*, the whirlwind, which threatens sickness and death. He is further 776 intimately connected with the */hai /nun*, the malicious ghosts of the 775 dead; in fact, *//gaunagu* in the plural is simply another name for */hai /nun*, and even the term *//gaunb* in the singular may be used for 791 a ghost. It may also be noted that magicians among the Naman are considered in some way connected with the */hai /nun*, and therefore have an immunity from their evil effects which others have not. These facts all suggest that *//Gaunab* must be identified with the */hai /nun*, the ghosts or spectres of the dead. This is also implied in Valentijn's statement noted above, and it will be remembered that one of Mrs. Hoernlé's informants insisted very earnestly that the */hai /nun* were simply *//Gaunab*. From this it would appear that *//Gaunab*, when looked upon as an individual being, as he certainly is at times, may be regarded as a personification of the ghosts of the dead, i.e. of certain animistic beliefs. On the evidence available there seems no other adequate interpretation.

[1] "Berigt aan van Plettenberg," 104. [2] Op. cit., 42, 86.
[3] Ibid., 87; cf. Hoernlé, "Social Value of Water among the Naman," 520.
[4] Hahn, op. cit., 74, 89. [5] Ibid., 62.

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But *//Gaunab* also figures in the myth as the opponent of *Tsui //Goab*; and there it is further said, by the Naman, that "*Tsui //Goab* lives in a beautiful heaven, and *//Gaunab* lives in a dark heaven, quite separated from the heaven of *Tsui //Goab*", while the Korana told Wuras that *Tsui //Goab* lived in the Red Sky and *//Gaunab* in the Black Sky.[1] Two of the old writers, Valentijn and Wikar, also speak of *//Gaunab* as a "black chief", while Graevenbroeck calls *Damob* the "god of the underworld". The interpretation of this myth is difficult, as we have no further information at all about the two "heavens" referred to. Hahn reads into it a metaphor illustrating the change of day and night, and identifies *Tsui //Goab* with the Red Dawn and *//Gaunab* with the Black Night.[2] An alternative explanation, if we remember that *Tsui //Goab* is not only the rain-giver, i.e. the fertilizer, but also the creator, while *//Gaunab* is the cause of sickness and death, may be that the myth symbolizes the conflict between life and death. But this is mere speculation, as we need to know far more about the beliefs and practices relating to these two beings, and, it should be added, about the beliefs relating on the fate of the dead, before interpretations of their significance can be advanced with some prospect of accuracy.

Magic and Divination

In common with most primitive peoples the Hottentots have amongst them certain individuals who are specialists in the art of magic. Of these magicians, */gai aogu*, we have extremely little information. Nothing at all appears to be known about the method in which a person becomes a */gai aob*, or of the training he has to undergo. One of Mrs. Hoernlé's informants said that a child born with a caul might become a clever */gai aob*, if given the caul to eat whilst still young; others, however, said that such a child became a *gebo aob*, a seer.[3] It is not even definitely stated if these magicians are of either sex, or men only, but the fact that the name by which they are known is always written with the masculine suffix seems to imply the latter.

The name */gai aob* itself, according to Schultze,[4] is derived from */gaib*, the magic medicine used by these men in their work. This medicine is carried about in a small box cut from the horn of some animal. It is made up of vegetable ingredients taken from the roots of a large diversity of plants, and of the flesh and bones of various

[1] Hahn, *op. cit.*, 62–3. [3] *Ibid.*, 126.
[2] "Social Value of Water among the Naman," 540. [4] *Nama-land und Kalahari*, 226.

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755 small animals, such as a species of chameleon, the shrew mouse, bats, and a small bird of the family *Sylviidae*. These ingredients are dried and cut up or ground to powder, and are then mixed with the raw goat's fat which fills the medicine horn and which is thought to absorb the effective principles of the other substances. The goat's fat has curative powers only, and is rubbed into cuts made in the patient's body, but the other ingredients, secretly mixed in tobacco or smeared on the mouthpiece of a pipe, can be used for affecting a person's emotions, as in love magic, or for injuring his health.

791 The principal function of the */gai aob* is to cure people who have
755 been bewitched.[1] He is considered as in some way connected with the */hei /nun*—we are nowhere told how—and therefore has an immunity which ordinary people have not from the sickness caused by the */hei /nun* or by their human agents, the witchcraft practitioners. This immunity he can impart to others, and so cure them of the disease, by inoculating them with his essence, as it were, which is contained in the dirt and perspiration of his body. He scrapes the dirt off as he requires it, and it forms an essential ingredient in all his medicines and cures. The treatment he follows when called in to a patient is nowhere fully described.[2] Generally, it seems, he first extracts from the patient's body, by massaging and sucking, the foreign bodies held to have been secreted there and so to be causing the illness. Then, to complete the cure, he makes cuts in the patient's body, into which he rubs some of the fat from his medicine horn mixed with dirt and perspiration scraped from his own body. Sometimes he gives the patient decoctions made from his medicines, and invariably the patient has to provide him with one or more slaughter animals, certain internal portions of which are necessary ingredients in the medicines, and the meat of which he keeps for himself.

791 As long as the */gai aob* uses his powers in this way for good,
754 he is much respected, and is an important person in the community.
823 But he can also use it for evil, and by resorting to witchcraft make people ill or kill them, instead of curing them. If it is suspected that he himself is causing illness, the community has a sure way of protecting itself from him.[3] Cold water is absolutely fatal to his power, and in ordinary life he never touches it on any account. Should it be decided that he has caused sickness or death among the people,

[1] Hoernlé, loc. cit.; Olpp, *Angra Pequena*, 29; Wikar, op. cit., 122–3; Schultze, loc. cit.
[2] The most serviceable account is given by Nolte, "Krankheiten und Heilmittel der Nama," *Deutz. KolZg.*, iii (1886), 629–30.
[3] Hoernlé, op. cit., 320–1; cf. *idem*, "South-West Africa," 27.

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the chief will therefore order him to be deprived of all his power. He is taken to the nearest pool of water and ducked completely. His power, residing in his body dirt, oozes away from him into the water, as it were, and he is an ordinary man once more! Mrs. Hoernlé states that she knows of two instances in which this course was adopted.

In the same way, the medicines of the */gai aob* can also be rendered innocuous by immersion in cold water. Mrs. Hoernlé records the case of a girl who had been bewitched and who nearly died as a result. She was finally cured by the medicine which is all powerful against all witchcraft methods. "This is the *//a /naip*, the kidney of a species of jackal, which has a smell so strong and penetrating that it is too much even for any */gei* medicine. When this was given to the girl, she vomited and brought up the little */gei* sticks and leaves which had been doing all the mischief. The mother showed these sticks and leaves to some old men who took them all away and threw them into cold water, so that their power was gone for ever."[1] Here we have another instance of the protective value of water, to which attention has already been drawn.

It is difficult to determine what other regular functions the */gai aob* has apart from the curing, or causing, of disease. Hahn speaks as if the */gai aob* formerly officiated at the boys' puberty ceremony, at the reception of warriors returning home after battle, and at the slaughtering of a cow or sheep "as an offering to the deceased or to the Supreme Being"[2]; but he gives no further details and there is no other statement definitely connecting the */gai aob* with these rites.

Elsewhere Hahn mentions "a class of sorcerers" chiefly occupied in making rain, "who in former times must have been very numerous, but since the introduction of Christianity are only met here and there on the kraals of the heathen tribes."[3] "Having a great practical knowledge of the meteorology of their country," he says, "they pretend to have power over the clouds and to bind them. Thus they sprinkle their urine into a burning fire, being convinced that it soon will rain. They also cut the nails of their fingers, and throw them into the fire for the same purpose. They catch a kind of caprimulgus (*/gu//goab*), and burn the bird to ashes, which are strewn about, in order to produce clouds and ashes. These sorcerers naturally take good care not to display their tricks of witchcraft if there are, according to their own practical experience, no sufficient indications

[1] "Social Value of Water," 322. [2] Op. cit., 23, 24. [3] Ibid., 83.

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of certain rain." He does not state who these "sorcerers" are, nor does he suggest any connection between them and the rain-making ceremonies previously described, so that although there seem to have been among the Hottentots special rain magicians, we cannot identify them with certainty or link them up with the */gai aogu*, the known workers in magic.

From Schultze's brief account of Hottentot magic, it appears that the */gai aogu* are also diviners.[1] A thread is inserted into the fat in the medicine horn. The projecting end is set alight and held against the wind, and the direction in which the smoke blows tells the distressed inquirer where he must seek his strayed cattle or lost companion. If he still wishes to overtake his comrade on the way, a knot is tied in the thread and the projecting end set alight. Then, just as the flame is checked or extinguished on the knot, so will his comrade halt on the march until he comes up.

Other methods of divination are also employed by the Hottentots, but there is nothing to connect them certainly with the */gai aogu*. One of these we have already met with in connection with the conduct of judicial trials, where as a last resort the diviner is called in with his beaded strips of leather to ascertain who is the real culprit. The method there described is found also among the OvaHerero and the Bergdama, and may have been taken over from one of these peoples, although this cannot be definitely asserted. Another method of divination, described to Mrs. Hoernlé, was done for a Hottentot, but by a Bergdama. The chief Christian Goliath of the Berseba Hottentots, Mrs. Hoernlé's informant, said that he had lost a mug and called in this Bergdama man to find out who had taken it. The man had three iron beads which he threw three times upon the ground. Each time one of the beads rolled in the direction of a certain hut, and when this hut was searched the mug was found there! Here, it will be noticed, an expert from another people was called in; and Mrs. Hoernlé is inclined to believe that this may have been the case in most of the instances of divination by means of bone or bead throwing reported of the Hottentots. All her Nama informants denied that they themselves practised divination in this way.[2]

Kolb describes on hearsay a form of divination which he says was practised by the Cape Hottentots in cases of illness where medical treatment seemed to be of no benefit. A sheep was carefully flayed alive in such a way as to avoid excessive bleeding; if it then moved

[1] Loc. cit. [2] Communicated by letter, 23-9-1924.

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791 There is some mention also of prophets or seers, *gebo aogu*, among the Naman. These people, says Hahn,[1] "could tell to new-born [887] children as well as to heroes their fate, and this important institution was in the hands of the greatest and most respected old men of the clan." It is probable that the "old men good at prophesying" referred to by Mrs. Hoernlé in her description of the annual rain ceremony, are these *gebo aogu*, but this is not clearly indicated. Otherwise we have no information at all about the functions of these seers.

789 751 The wearing of various kinds of amulets, it may finally be noted, is by no means uncommon. Graevenbroeck as far back as 1695 mentions that the Cape Hottentots often carried round their necks small pieces of wood about the thickness of a finger, which they believed would protect them at night from all danger when out in the open veld.[2] And Wikar noted[3] that among the Naman the magicians sold to the people all sorts of little pieces of wood to protect them against harm and disease, as well as against other dangers to men and cattle. These sticks were to be burned or rubbed on the body. He describes one type used in case of danger in war. The fortunate possessor scraped it on his foot and on his body, and then could run so fast that he could not be overtaken!

789 Even at the present time, as we have previously seen, herdsmen and warriors, as well as others, use similar pieces of wood, fangs, beads, pieces of scaly skin, etc., which are believed to ward off all dangers, maintain health or deliver the possessor from evil. As a rule such objects are worn at the breast on a thin leather strap; very often they may be tied on the painful part of the body, and are then simply called "medicine". When circumstances demand it, they prepare [439] these amulets themselves, but, observes Vedder, they have so little confidence in their own art that they would rather purchase them from the OvaMbo, OvaHerero, Bergdama, and especially the Bushmen.[4]

754 648 The respect for the magical powers of other peoples, indicated in the case both of the amulets and of divination, was also observed by Wikar among the Naman towards the end of the eighteenth century. He says that they feared both the Bergdama and the BeChwana as powerful wizards. "I asked them if they had already had proof of the witchcraft of the BeChwana. They replied that in earlier times their forefathers had stolen cattle from the BeChwana, but while on the way home had been bewitched, so that they became mad, and

[1] Op. cit., 24. [2] Op. cit., 367.
[3] Op. cit., 123. [4] Op. cit., 134.

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turned back with cattle and all to the BeChwana, by whom they were murdered with assegais."[1] A thoroughly convincing proof!

Appendix

Comparative Note on Bushmen and Hottentot Religion

The analysis given above of Hottentot religious conceptions shows that in many respects they bear a striking resemblance to those of the Bushmen, although there are also considerable differences. Both peoples worship the Moon. The Southern Bushmen also have prayers to the sun and to various stars, which the Hottentots and most of the Northern Bushmen have not, but even here the worship of the Moon is far more developed than that of the other celestial bodies. This common feature is all the more significant since none of the Bantu peoples of South Africa pray to the Moon.

Neither Bushmen nor Hottentots, again, have any organized family or tribal ancestor worship, nor any form of religious practice in which the spirits of the dead are regularly invoked or propitiated, although among the Southern Bushmen as well as among the Hottentots dead people are occasionally prayed to. In the beliefs of both peoples the dead are in some way connected with the stars, but it is held above all that dead people become mischievous ghosts, which in particular are the cause of sickness and death. Both the Northern Bushmen and the Hottentots use some form of the word *//gaua* for these ghosts, although the Hottentots customarily speak of them as */hei /nun* and by certain other names as well. Among both peoples, moreover, the magicians are somehow in special contact with the ghosts, and consequently have the power to cure the illness caused by them. Certain of the North-Western Bushmen, however, believe also that the soul of a dead person, as distinguished from his ghost, goes to live with the being *Huwe* in a house in the sky, while the Southern Bushmen likewise speak of an afterworld to which dead people go, without, however, associating this afterworld with any supernatural being. These beliefs are apparently not found at all among the Hottentots.

Both the Northern Bushmen and the Hottentots further use the word *//Gaua* as the name of a definitely personified being, closely connected with the ghosts of the dead. But here there is also a difference. The Hottentots regard *//Gaunab* primarily as an evil being,

[1] Op. cit., 122.

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a special animal, a sheep or a goat, is slaughtered. The officiating person makes some cuts in the patient's body over the part affected. With a small horn he cups blood from these cuts, mixes it together, and adds some of the blood of the slaughtered animal. Next he scrapes some dirt from his arm and mixes it with the blood, to which he also adds the ingredients of the vegetable medicines. This mixture he finally rubs into the cuts. Till these have healed the patient must observe the customary */nau* restrictions: he must remain in the hut, he must not touch anyone with his hands, nor must he touch cold water or the pots. When at last the cuts are healed, the officiating person cleanses him in the customary manner, he puts on a set of new clothes and gives the old ones to his attendant, the usual purification meal is held, and the fire in the hut cleared away and renewed. Finally the reintroduction to the duties of ordinary life takes place in the usual manner, and the patient is free to mix with other people once more.

No other writer on the Hottentots mentions this particular grouping of diseases. It is implied, however, in Laidler's statement that there is a classification into minor and major troubles; but he adds that the former are treated by the herbalists, while in the latter the first step is consultation with the "witch doctor" (i.e. the */gai aob*) who is usually himself also a herbalist.[1] He makes no reference to the fact, explicitly noted by both Mrs. Hoernlé and Schultze, that certain diseases can only be treated by people who have themselves had the disease and recovered from it. Many writers, as we have seen, corroborate the calling in of the */gai aob* in case of illness, and it would seem that one of his ordinary duties is to discover the source of the sickness. His method of doing so is nowhere clearly described, although Laidler vaguely mentions divination by examination of the entrails of a slaughtered animal. Where the patient is held to have been bewitched, the */gai aob* also undertakes to cure him. His treatment in such cases, in addition to the "extracting" of the foreign bodies thought to be causing the illness, is apparently similar to that employed in the diseases known as */op*, since, as we have seen, the dirt scraped from his body is an essential ingredient in any medicine he gives. It is obvious, from what has just been noted, that he does not undertake the treatment of every kind of disease.

All this implies that more than one class of persons may be called in to treat the sick and injured, the healer differing according to

[1] Op. cit., 433, 434.

3: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913) 1918 FX13 Hottentot FX13
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things, become !nau without some individual or group of individuals being !nau. This 783 888
is when an animal is struck by lightning. A sheep so struck is very highly !nau and none but the very old will touch it. They cook and eat it and make use of the skin. When [262] one realises that the Hottentots will eat any meat however high, and any animal even though it has died of disease, one realises how strongly this !nau influence works in making them afraid to touch an animal killed by lightning.

As soon, however, as some person becomes !nau certain things also become !nau. 783 First of all the fire in the hut in which he is secluded is !nau. It must never be allowed to go out, nor must the ashes be removed until the day comes for the purification of the house and the renewal of the fire. During all this time nothing must be cooked at the fire, and no one who might increase the peril in which the !nau person finds himself must come near it. Thus pregnant or menstruating women are always excluded. All these precautions seem to show that it is the patient's safety that is bound up with the fire. The !nau fire must be respected, not because other people may suffer from the breach of the regulations, but because the patient will suffer therefrom. In this connection it may be noted that the Hottentot hut is peculiarly private and can be used as a sanctuary. The hearth is therefore most intimately bound up with the inmates of the hut.

Raw meat and cold water are sources of great danger to a !nau person, and must be 783 kept away from him. All my informers denied that water ever became !nau, but every 778 !nau person has to be carefully protected from it, and reintroduced to it with much ceremony once the period of seclusion is over. I have a good many facts which show that water is endowed with a peculiar potency by the Hottentots, which is perhaps not wonderful if one considers how valuable a thing it is in their extremely arid country. One instance may suffice to show its powers. The Hottentot witch doctor, or */gâi-dop*, never touches [791] cold water, and never washes from year's end to year's end. His power resides, as it were, in the dirt which clings to his body, and this is always an ingredient in any medicine he gives. Should he touch water this power would be diminished, and complete immersion in water would cause the disappearance of all his potency. The chief Christian Goliath gave me an account of such a happening at Berseba in the time of his grandfather, when [683] a */gâi-dop* who had been using his power for evil was ducked in the pond by the chief's orders, and pushed under again as his head appeared above water. Thereafter his evil powers were gone.

The clothing and utensils of the patient also become !nau, but these are a source of 783 danger to others than himself. Their's is the peril if they inadvertently make use of them before he finally discards them and gives them to the person taking care of him. An instance was given me of a woman who brought her husband to death's door by striking him with her */gâis*, or petticoat, when she was !nau.

769 has to exert himself to ward off approaching death by means of
787 circumstantial ceremonies. Having performed these cere-
761 monies secretly, only after a year may he relate this dream, as
by then the time for its realisation will have expired, failing
[632] which he will be regarded as a murderer should the person
die within that year and be treated accordingly. When the
sheep get lost in the pastures, they know how to find them
by lighting a certain root at the gate of the kraal, the flames
showing the direction in which the sheep should be sought.
761 He, who heedlessly stands in the shade of a bush called "the
782 little heart-tree" is endangered by death until he has atoned
for his disrespectful behaviour by burying a piece of cloth
from his own dress, at the root of the tree.

791 4. It is clear that in these circumstances wizards and
sooth-sayers would enjoy great personal attention, find favour
and acquire riches especially in hard times; and up to the
present time all sorts of wizards, who pretend to be able to
ward off death and to cure animals by means of mysterious
remedies, are still active among the Nama; they very seldom
avail themselves of effective medicinal roots and shrubs for
they have a very scanty knowledge of the medicinal plants
of Namaland. The more mysterious is the hocus-pocus in
which he wraps his unintelligible doings, the greater the
wizard and the more firmly do they expect the wonderful
effects! There is a definite way of practising witchcraft to
reveal that which is still hidden in the dim future or is
wrapt in the veil of the past; but it seldom happens that one
comes on the track of old, original customs. What has been
heard or seen among the Bushmen, Ovambo and also among
the Malays and Mahomedans of the Cape Colony, is being
practised and has its believers.

751 The wearing of various kinds of talismans is by no means
uncommon, but one very seldom gets the impression that they
are in any way connected with ancient beliefs or superstitions.
Fangs, beads, pieces of scaly skin, roots, fruits, etc., are
regarded by them as serving to ward off diseases, to maintain
health or to deliver them from evil. As a rule these things
are worn at the breast on a thin leather strap; very often
they are tied on painful parts of the body and are then simply
called "Medicine."

751 When circumstances demand it they prepare these amu-
439 lets themselves, but they have so little confidence in their
own art that they would rather purchase them from the
Ovambo, Herero, Bergdama and especially from the Bushmen.

VII. Manners and Customs.

584 1. A matrimonial engagement may take place in two ways.
The parents of the young man either look for a suitable girl,
get her parents' consent, have long and by no means enjoy-
able negotiations with relatives, decide upon the date for the

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

103 Names of places

and rivers up to this day tell us of battles once fought, such as *ǃKhami* and *ǃKhams*, Battlefield, *ǃKho-||oa-tes*, "You cannot catch me;" *ǃKhotoas*, the last one caught; ǂ*K*χ^{i}χ*as*, peace; *ǃHuritamas*, "I am not afraid." Other names again bear testimony to the love for dancing and singing, like *ǃGaī||nais* and *ǃGaī||nai*χ*as*, "Good, pleasant singing," ǂAχaīs, "Reed-dance." And even sentimental feelings seem to be as characteristic of them as of the writers of fashionable novels now-a-days. *||Ā||ōs*, "Dying from love," has probably been the scene of a very tragical love affair.

● 791 Prophets (gebo-aogu, *i.e.*, seers) could tell to new-born children as well as to heroes their fate, and this important institution was in the hands of the greatest and most respected old men of the clan. We shall see hereafter that Heitsieībib, Tsu-||goab and the Moon, all were endowed with the power of prophecy.

196 I have already shown in the forms derived from *khoi*, that the Khoikhoi are able to form abstract words.

This distinguishes them most favourably from all the Bushmen tribes, and proves how high their mental development must have been before they emigrated from their primitive territory.

I shall give only a few specimens. ǂ*Eī*, to think, from ǂ*ani* to cut to pieces, to slaughter, hence, ǂ*eis* (ǂ*anis*), the thought; ǂ*eī-*ǂ*eī-sen*, to consider, to think over again; ǂ*eī-*ǂ*eī-sen-s*, the result of one's own consideration, idea, perception.

Ī, to appear, to shine; *ǂeib*, form, shape, likeness, appearance; *ǂa* and *ǂ*χ*a*, full of form, beautiful, pretty, handsome.

Sī, to come, to arrive; *sī* (from *sini*), to cause to arrive—*i.e.*, to send; *sisen*, to send oneself—*i.e.*, *to work*; German, *sich anschicken*.

Ā, yes; *ama*, true; amab, truth; amasīb, truthfulness, love of truth.

ǃNams, love, fondness; nam|namsa, fond, dear; ǃnam, to love.